1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

But in many villages instead of a communal *padawo'gha'i* there is a separate hut at the back of each long-house for the use of the residents of each house contained in the long-house, called by the same name; or else in each house there is a *padawo'gha'i* room known generally as *hala*,[1] with a door opening at the back of the house, separated from the rest of the house by a *binda* or low mud threshold about three feet from the back door. It is absolutely *polo* or taboo for any male to set foot in the menstruation hut or room; I once saw a son who wanted to enter the house by the back door take a flying leap from outside so as to land beyond the *binda*. In every *hala* room there is a complete set of cooking vessels and utensils for the woman to use while she is in her courses, when it is *polo* for her to touch any of the regular household articles. The menstruation hut or room is also the scene of all child-births.

There is in some big villages a resting hut for travellers or State officials, known as the *paik-gotul* or *Kos-gotul*; *paik* is the word used for a member of the old militia, and *Kos* is the general word used by all Gonds for Hindus. This may also have a stable att ached.

The sketch-plan on page 105 illustrates a fairly typical Hill Maria village, crowning a mountain spur; it represents the site occupied in 1930 by the Kutru Mar village of Karangal. The long-houses here had nearly all of them bamboo fences between them and the street, running along their front about three or four feet from their front wall. The doors have been shown only in the houses in long-house no. 6. The fences only give a little privacy, and spaces useful for storing fuel; they are not garden (*bari*) enclosures. Bamboo is very plentiful around Karangal; where it is less common, these fences are absent. The stockades of thick poles at the eastern side of this village were made to afford protection from the fierce and cold wind blowing off the hills from the north-east. The Village Mother's shrine was a cylindrical basket of stones resting on five boulders in the open space between the dormitory and the *kasyeg-gaita's* house, near the latter's *adam-garia* seat of honour. This seat was a flat slab of stone resting on five thin slabs stuck vertically in the ground. The *pen-rawar* shrine of the clan-god Koruk Pen was a round hut surrounded with a bamboo fence to the east of the village by the side of the path leading to the *penda* fields; there is another shrine of this god at Nugur, a Parllo clan village a few miles away in the Indrawati valley. In Karangal the only non-Maria was a Maria-speaking Rawat herdsman, who was allowed a house site at some distance from the main street;

[1] Or *ala*; the aspirate is often dropped by Hill Marias.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Bison Horn Maria

Appendix VI

Language

In Volume IV of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Maria is somewhat briefly discussed and considered to be a mere local dialect of Gondi, 'almost identical with the ordinary Gondi of the district'. The only authority on the language mentioned in the *Survey* is Glasfurd's *Report on the Dependency of Bastar* (Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. XXXIX, Calcutta, 1863); Appendix II of the report contains a 'Maria' vocabulary. But as Glasfurd called the Hill Maria 'Maree', his vocabulary obviously was not collected in the Abujhmar hills, but probably among the Bison-horn Marias of Dantewara and Bijapur tahsils. The specimen printed in the survey seems to me to be one from the Bison-horn Maria country, while the sketch of the Maria dialect at pp. 532-3 of Vol. IV of the *Linguistic Survey* deals obviously with the Bison-horn Maria dialect. In fact, I do not think that it has before anywhere been stated that there is a marked difference between the two dialects, so marked, indeed, that, as I have observed before, a Hill Maria and a Bison-horn Maria cannot understand each other's mother-tongue and have to communicate in Halbi. I am not qualified to speak in any detail of the differences between the two dialects. A collection of words will often show very marked similarities or identities, but the same word will often be very differently pronounced by a Hill and by a Bison-horn Maria. Inflexions are different, those of the Hill Maria being more similar to those used by the Gond of the plateaux of the Central Provinces, though much gutturalized, while those of the Bison-horn Marias are, presumably, influenced by Telugu contacts. And in general towards the north of Bastar the Hill Maria and the Muria indent on Hindi for words wanting in their mother-tongue, while the farther south you go the more you find the Bison-horn Maria indenting upon Telugu, though he also draws considerably on Halbi. The Bison-horn Maria's speech seems far more guttural than standard Central Provinces Gondi, but even he is amazed at the difficulty of the Hill Maria gutturals, and always compares Hill Maria speech to that of crows.

The volume of transcriptions and translations of Gramophone Records of Languages and Dialects spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar, edited by the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal and published

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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194 in 1920 at the Madras Government Press, gives two Maria records, which appear to me to be Hill Maria, probably from the south of the Abujhmar hills. They are full of the gutturals *gh*, *kh* and *q* (of which the sounds are similar to the corresponding Arabic gutturals), but do not clearly distinguish the short, almost clipped short, sound of the vowel o (sometimes a also) which I have transliterated in the Glossary and elsewhere as ŏ and ă respectively, as in *ghatŏ* and *păghai*; unfortunately, there are few examples of these in my specimens below, though they certainly occurred in the speech of the storytellers; but my Hindi scribe had no sign to distinguish short o from long o, or this clipped ă from the ordinary short a which is understood between two consonants in Devanagari script. Undoubtedly, also, the vowel e is sometimes short and sometimes long in Maria, as in all Gondi, but it is almost invariably shown as long both in the gramophone record transcriptions and in my specimens.

114 194 The *Linguistic Survey* does not mention the only Maria grammar which then existed, *A Manual of the Mardia Language* by A. A. Lind, published in 1913 at the Mukti Mission Press, Kedgaon. This is a useful work in Bastar, but often exasperating in its deficiencies; the vocabularies and inflexions were collected in different parts among different tribes, and thus are often of little use when most needed. It does, however, attempt to record the gutturals of Hill Maria, and whenever the vocabulary gives alternative forms, one with a guttural and one without, the gutturalized form may be taken to be the Hill Maria form, and the other probably the Bison-horn Maria. The author rightly points out that the guttural Hill *gh* and *kh*, corresponding to Arabic *ghain* and *khe*, are often 'interchanged with' r and y respectively, meaning that where the Hill Maria e.g. calls his bark cloak *taghāli*, the Bison-horn Maria will say *tarūli*. He points out also the existence of a gutturalized h, which is pronounced almost like *kh*; for example the verb *vēhnā*, to say, is by many Hill Marias pronounced practically as *vēkhnā*, and I have so transcribed it in my specimens.

194 No authority has, so far as I recollect, pointed out one peculiarity that to some extent affects all Gondi speech, but is most marked in the pronunciation of Hill and Bison-horn Maria. That is the check, almost click, so common in the middle of long words, especially between the root of a verb and its inflexion. Sometimes I have indicated this by inserting a small a above and between two consonants; I think that an apostrophe in the same position would be sounder.

Towards the south, the Hill Maria often drops an initial h, and softens his gutturals nearly as much as his Bison-horn neighbour.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

I have tried in the specimens below and in transcribing the vernacular words used in the text of the book to follow the same orthography as the *Linguistic Survey*, with modifications as noted above. When no long or short sign is printed above a vowel, it is pronounced as an ordinary short vowel, not clipped. As a rough guide to pronunciation :—

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Pronounce short a as the final a in America
" long a as in fast
" short e as in when
" long e as the ea in great
" short i as in bit
" long i as ee in meet
" short o as the first o in bottom
" long o as in pope
" short u as in put
" long u as the oo in foot
" ai as the English affirmative ay
" au as the ow in cow

When a small a is printed above the line between two consonants, it is generally little more than a pause between syllables, the check already mentioned; when it is so printed at the end of a word, it represents the short a sound without which, for example, it is almost impossible to pronounce a final consonantal y.

Cerebral t, d and r are printed with a dot below them, and nasal n with a long sign above it. The following points observed at pp. 4-5 of Volume I of Mr. C. G. Chenevix Trench's *Grammar of Gondi* apply to the Hill Maria dialect of Gondi also :—

(a) 'The -r is frequently rolled in Gondi as in English, and even before a consonant. . . . To avoid the appearance of affectation, single -r is written in the latter contingency. Thus, . . . though the -r in Dörtönā, = I am tired, first person singular perfect tense of Dörrānā, = to be tired, is strongly rolled, it is written single. This tripping -r is characteristic of the language.'

(b) In all southern dialects of Gondi there is a tendency to cerebralise all -r's, i.e. to pronounce r as ṛ. (The Hill Maria goes further, and gutturalises ṛ to *ghain*.)

(c) 'Similarly, in the oblique cases of nouns, d and ḍ are often interchanged and t and ṭ sometimes.'

(d) 'It is often impossible to say whether a vowel should be marked long or short.'

(e) It is doubtful whether initial o or e exist in the language. 'There is always a faint w sound before the o, and generally a half-uttered y precedes the e. Thus the Gond betrays his affinity to the Madrasi butler who pronounces "eight" "Yeight."'

(f) 'A similar "Madrasi" tendency is the addition of ū to final t, ṭ, d, ḍ and l. Ādū is often heard for ād, ōlū for ōl, ammātū for ammāt, tākālū for tākāl, the third person neuter singular of the future of tākānā, to walk.' Compare Hill Maria *magsu* for Gondi mārs, = axe, himatu for himat as second person plural of the imperative of *hiydnā*, to go, in my specimens

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
AW32 Gond AW32

of a timid and resigned outlook in place of the manly spirit of old. Finally I propose to discuss the results of the more liberal policy towards the aboriginals which H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has pursued since 1944, and to outline the principles and the first stages of the Gond Education Scheme, which is designed to help the Gonds in the struggle for existence and to restore to them self-respect and pride in their own ancient culture.

In an account of a culture as rich and complex as that of the Raj Gonds the anthropologist must needs concentrate on certain aspects, and in this book I have given first place to the Gonds' mythology and their complex ritual, sanctioned and sustained in almost every phase by mythical precedents. This part of Gond culture is rapidly disintegrating and its study, still possible in the hills of Utnur and Asifabad Taluqs, would come too late in the more open parts of the District. Problems of psychology and the more intimate matters of the individual's life, on the other hand, are only fleetingly touched upon, but I believe that changes in this sphere are not as rapid and the time left for their study is consequently far less limited.

Although this book is not a treatise on linguistics, Gondi texts of some length have found a place in many chapters. I noted them when collecting my material and as they are the first recorded specimens of the peculiar Gondi spoken in Adilabad, I do not feel justified in withholding them from the student of Indian languages. All have been checked and rechecked with several informants, but this is no guarantee of absolute accuracy, for Gonds, like the speakers of most unwritten languages, are often careless about rules of grammar and not very sensitive to slight slips in a text read out to them. The recording, moreover, is not in accordance with the exigent demands of modern phonetics, which only the trained linguist can fulfil. Consonants are used with their values in English, and vowels with their values in Italian, long and short signs being added only where confusion might otherwise arise between two words of similar sound. Diacritical signs have been used only in the consonants ṭ, ṛ and ḥ. While the dental t, rendered by the Nagri character त , is transcribed by simple t, the cerebral t rendered in Nagri by ट, is transcribed by ṭ. Similarly the soft r, र in Nagri, is transcribed r, and the hard r, ऱ in Nagri, as ṛ. The letter ḥ stands for a sound closely resembling the German ch in Bach (pronounced like the composer). This sound occurs mainly in words of Marathi origin, and in such words most Gonds not familiar with Marathi pronounce it not as sh, but h; examples are *goḥti* (word, speech) and *paḥti* (favour) pronounced in pure Marathi as *goshti* and *pashti*; but I have transcribed these and similar words as pronounced by the Gonds in the hills.

Following the spelling of the Linguistic Survey and Trench's Grammar, I have used *w* for all *v*-sounds, except in proper names occurring in the English text, and in words borrowed from Hindi in which *v* is

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
AW32 Gond AW32

more familiar. Deviating from Trench, who employs double-consonants to indicate the shortness of the preceding vowels, thus spelling *wittana* (to run) in contrast to *witana* (to sow), I have dispensed with double-consonants; in words such as *waṭṭana* (to put) the two consonants represent different sounds. Diacritical signs are confined to the Gondi texts, and are not used when an italicized Gondi word occurs in the English text.[1]

Those familiar with Gondi will notice that the language spoken by the Raj Gonds of Adilabad differs both from the Betul Gondi of Trench's Grammar and the Gondi spoken in South Chanda outlined by the Rev. S. B. Patwardhan.[2] A distinctive feature of Adilabad Gõndi is the frequent substitution of an initial *s* for the initial *h* of both the Betul and the Chanda dialects. Thus the Adilabad Gond pronounces *surana* (to see) instead of *hurana*, and 'no' is *sile* in Adilabad but *halle* in Betul. While in the nominative the Gonds of Betul usually drop the initial *n* inherent in the first and second person of the personal pronoun and say *ana* (I) and *imma* (thou) the Gonds of Adilabad use the full form *nana* (I) and *nime* (thou).

The Gondi of southern Chanda described by Patwardhan, follows in the choice of the initial *s* and *h* the Betul usage, but has often *l* where both Adilabad and Betul Gonds pronounce *r*. Thus the Chanda Gond, like the Hill Maria says *lon* (house), while the Adilabad Gond pronounces the word clearly with *r*, *ron*.

Further comparisons between the three dialects would be beyond the scope of this work, but although Betul Gondi contains a good many words not familiar to the Gonds of Adilabad and probably *vice-versa*, and the language of South Chanda is strongly influenced by Telugu, speakers of the three dialects have on the whole no great difficulty in understanding each other.

Raj Gonds of Adilabad on the other hand find it almost impossible to understand or make themselves understood to Hill Marias of Chanda but in going through the texts given in Grigson's *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* I found that with a knowledge of Adilabad Gondi it is easy to recognize many Maria words, some being identical and most very similar in both dialects. The pronunciation and intonation seem however, to be so divergent that to those familiar with the Adilabad idiom Maria is more easily understood written than spoken. Ethnologically it would be extremely important to ascertain the affinities of those words in the Bastar dialects which do not occur in the Gondi of the Central Provinces

1. The student of Dravidian languages will find an extensive selection of Gondi texts in Nagri script in the series "Hyderabad Gondi Literature," which I am editing in collaboration with Mr. S. B. Jogalkar for use in Gond schools. So far the following numbers have been published: *Hyderabad Gondi Reading Chart for Adults* 1, 2, and 3 (Hyderabad, 1943); *First Reader for Adults* containing stories and Riddles (Hyderabad 1944); *Gondi Primer* (Hyderabad 1944); *First Gondi Reader* (Hyderabad 1946); *Three Epic Poems* (Hyderabad 1946); *The Legend of the Serpe Folk* (Hyderabad 1947); *The Myth of Manko* (Hyderabad 1946).